The G. O. P. and Korea—*an Editorial*

THE *Nation*

September 2, 1950

What the West Forgets

The Economic War

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

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Too Much Psychoanalysis?

What To Do Till the Doctor Goes - - - - *Fredric Wertham*

Ignorance—Amateur and Professional - - - *Gregory Zilboorg*

*

Korea: Liberation for What?

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

SEP 11 1950
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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

A GLIMPSE INTO THE GREAT CONFUSION OF purpose and policy that still besets our foreign relations was afforded by two incidents this past week. The most important in terms of immediate consequences was the statement by General MacArthur addressed to the Veterans of Foreign Wars and withdrawn—but withdrawn too late to prevent publication—on order of President Truman. The statement was not read to the national encampment of the V. F. W.'s but it had already slipped into the pages of *U. S. News and World Report,* and by this time must have been seen by every interested person in every part of the globe. This does not, of course, destroy the value of Mr. Truman's attempted suppression, which at least sets the official position in sharp juxtaposition with that of the imperious General. What MacArthur's statement amounts to is a strong demand that Formosa be taken and held by the United States as a key point in its chain of island defenses in the western Pacific. That this plan runs counter to our commitments at Cairo and Potsdam, to President Truman's announcement on June 27 of his intention to neutralize Formosa during the Korean war, and to our offer to submit the Formosa question to the Security Council apparently embarrassed the General not one whit. Nor was he inhibited by his role as commander of the United Nations forces in Korea or by consideration of how the other members of the U. N. will react to a "defense" plan that bears such loud overtones of aggression. The prompt announcement from the White House that the President's position has not changed and that he is still in charge of the country's foreign policy may silence the General, at least for the moment. We are afraid it will not dispel the effect of his statement on those many friendly nations who regard even our official Formosa policy with alarm and disapproval.

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AHEAD OF GENERAL MACARTHUR IN TIME and perhaps in long-range importance was the "aggressors-for-peace" outburst of Secretary of the Navy Matthews. Here, the State Department had to move fast to clear the official record. It explicitly disavowed responsibility for the speech, rejecting the idea that this country should, if necessary, institute a war "to compel cooperation for peace." In a radio interview a couple of days later, Ambassador Jessup also repudiated the idea of a preventive war. These were emergency measures if our foreign policy was not to collapse under the impact of the Matthews explosion. But they have not settled the matter. For they seem to confirm the existence of a profound conflict within the government. Secretary Matthews, to be sure, says he spoke only for himself and not for the Defense Department. If this is the case, the remedy is clear: he should be dismissed without delay. If he is sustained or merely rebuked for lack of tact, the assumption will be that his speech reflected the views of the department, since it is hard to believe that a Secretary of the Navy would be permitted to advocate a policy so sensationally opposed to that of the government itself except as a deliberate act of defiance. And if that is what happened, the conflict should be resolved immediately and publicly by Mr. Truman himself.

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ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION officials appear to be operating on the theory that the way to handle legitimate criticism of the program from responsible union leaders is to suppress their comments. Four union officials, all of whom have consistently supported the Marshall Plan, recently returned from Europe with a finding that a "sharp change in emphasis" was needed to give bread-and-butter benefits to Western European workers. John Livingston, a vice-president of the C. I. O. United Automobile Workers, reported that industries aided by Marshall Plan funds are making huge profits in France, Italy, and West Germany but that workers are not sharing in the prosperity. Three other officials warned that low living standards in France and the reactionary character of France's employer group had damaged the morale of the workers and opened the way for effective Communist propaganda. But when these union leaders made their report, E. C. A. officials in Washington declined to sponsor a general press conference through which the warning could be widely publicized. A drive is on within the E. C. A. to abolish the small separate labor-information branch and incorporate it into the general public-relations section, where information experts drawn from the unions could be squelched even in their contacts with the labor press. These incidents warrant the attention of William Green, Philip Murray, and every other top-ranking union official.

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IN FAMILIAR FASHION, THE NEWSPAPERS complained last week that the threatened railroad strike was an attack on "the people" and on "national security." Never in such moments do critics recall the basic economic fact that without strikes and strike threats in the past nine years the Railway Brotherhoods would have fallen far behind most unions in wage and working standards. The Railway Labor Act, whatever its other virtues, has preserved peace at the expense of the employees. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Order of Railway Conductors, whose threatened strike forced Mr. Truman to seize the roads last Sunday, had no intention of actually walking out; they regarded seizure as their only means of dramatizing a protest against fact-finding board procedures which, while granting them a five-day week, would also have produced a cut in weekly wage. Whether the rails can pay the thirty-one-cent hourly increase needed to bring weekly earnings for five days up to the previous six-day level (their offer to the brotherhoods was twenty-three cents an hour) is an argument to be settled by legitimate collective bargaining. What the brotherhoods wanted was a chance to argue their case further, and they used the only means at hand to win this point.

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THE KASHMIR PROBLEM REMAINS UNSOLVED despite prolonged efforts by Sir Owen Dixon, the United Nations mediator, and must therefore be referred once again to the Security Council. Premiers Nehru of India and Liaquat Ali Khan of Pakistan have issued statements washing their hands of responsibility for the deadlock and accusing each other of obduracy, but fortunately there is some reason to suppose that the actual differences between them are not quite so wide as their public utterances imply. Both accept the idea of a partition of Kashmir which would give the northern mountains to Pakistan and the southern region of Jammu to India. The major stumbling block is the Vale of Kashmir, the richest section of the country, which is occupied by Indian forces and ruled by Sheikh Abdulla, the pro-Indian Moslem leader. Although a majority of the inhabitants of this area are Moslem, it is by no means certain which country they wish to join, and it will be essential to hold a plebiscite. The question remains: Under whose auspices is such a vote to be taken? Nehru insists India must retain control: Liaquat demands withdrawal of the Indian army before a plebiscite. Sir Owen Dixon is believed to have suggested the administration of the Vale by the U. N. for about six months, in order to insure impartial supervision of the vote. But this plan has been pronounced unacceptable by Nehru, and it is certainly difficult to see how a U. N. administrator could maintain law and order in this troubled land unless he had at his disposal an independent police force.

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Labor Looks Ahead

ALLOWING for American preoccupation with Korea, with the economic consequences of rearmament, and with the coming elections, it is still astonishing that so little attention has been paid to the British Labor Party's suggestion of a World Plan for Mutual Aid to succeed E. R. P. in 1952. We have noted editorial reactions in only two New York papers—the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Daily News*. In both cases, the comment was decidedly hostile: the plan was dismissed as another British essay in "pan-handling" which should be sternly discouraged.

Such contemptuous treatment of an important idea, put forward by the leading party of a nation which is closely cooperating with the United States at this dangerous time, seems unfortunate, to put it mildly. The object of the Labor Party's plan, which is not now but may very well become official British policy, is "to attack poverty everywhere, in developed and undeveloped countries alike." It is premised on the trite but true observation that "poverty anywhere is a threat to prosperity everywhere"; it is buttressed by the argument that armed strength alone is not an adequate barrier to aggression. If Communist infiltration into Asia and other economically backward areas is to be checked, steps must be taken to raise the living standards of that vast segment of the human race now living on the outer edge of bare subsistence.

There is, of course, nothing new in this proposition, nor has its implementation been entirely neglected in recent years. Since the war, Britain, despite its own economic troubles, has been financing a large ten-year program of colonial development, concentrating on such basic projects as education, health, agricultural research, and transport improvement. This country has contributed technical and other assistance to Latin American countries, and Mr. Truman's Point Four program, before it was whittled down by Congress, envisaged the provision of similar aid to nations throughout the world. The United Nations, through its Economic and Social Council, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and the World Health Organization, has sent expert missions to many nations, while the World Bank has carried out elaborate and useful economic surveys in borrower countries. Finally, members of the British Commonwealth meeting at Colombo earlier this year agreed in principle on a mutual-aid scheme for Asia, the details of which are soon to be discussed at a conference in London.

The British Labor plan suggests that these efforts for development should be coordinated in a new organization that would become responsible for formulating and carrying out a world plan. "All the free peoples," says the statement, "would be expected to contribute . . . according to their ability. The plan would be carried out through public as well as private investment, through national as well as international action, through colonial development as well as through the United Nations." One suggested feature is an international technical service which would help to spread the benefits of scientific research and industrial know-how.

In addition, of course, it will be necessary for the more advanced countries to supply capital to undeveloped areas, for know-how alone will not build bridges or irrigate dry lands. The assumption of critics is that the bulk of such financing would inevitably fall on this country and that what is intended is simply a raid on Uncle Sam's pocketbook. This is by no means a just conclusion to draw either from the Labor Party's statement or from the economic facts available. If the present trend toward more nearly balanced trade between the United States and the rest of the world continues, our capacity to export capital may diminish and that of other industrialized countries may grow. Indeed, if the rearmament program, which involves a rapid increase in basic productive capacity, achieves its objective, and preparedness prevents war, it may be that in a few years all the Western industrial powers will be seeking outlets for surplus production capital goods. In this case, they will have a choice of large-scale investment in backward areas or large-scale unemployment at home. British Labor, looking ahead, rejects the second alternative, on moral, political, and economic grounds, and proposes a carefully planned and sustained campaign to raise living standards throughout the world. It seems to us that this effort calls not for sneers but for imaginative and sympathetic cooperation.

The G. O. P. and Korea

IN THE bitter struggle of American troops in Korea, the Republican Party sees first and foremost a chance of returning to power. No other construction can reasonably be placed on its sordid behavior on Capitol Hill. Its members in the crucially important Senate Foreign Relations Committee, among them two of the party's most reputable figures, have issued a "White Paper" in which the Administration, rather than the Kremlin, is held accountable for the Korean war. From his hospital bed, the highly respected Senator Vandenberg is said to have given his indorsement to the document, though significantly he refused to sign it. And, from the lower depths of G. O. P. statesmanship, comes Senator Wherry's ferocious comment that "the blood of our boys in Korea is on [Secretary Acheson's] shoulders, and no one else."

The frenzied tone of Republican leaders, the appalling lack of perspective—not to mention the abandonment of

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common decency by some of them—suggest the frustration of little men caught up in a painful dilemma. Prepared originally to go to the country on the issue of communism, all set to expose the Administration as coddlers of the nation's enemies, they suddenly find this same Administration leading the forces of the world in a grim and determined effort to check the spread of Soviet power. Out of this drastic upheaval of their plans, two courses presented themselves. Forgetting their anti-communism, they could embrace the isolationist faith of Colonel McCormick. Like Westbrook Pegler, they could write off the Korean campaign, assume defeat, and call for a quick withdrawal. But this is potent stuff, and appeals only to those whose provincialism is even stronger than their anti-communism. For the rest, there was only the prospect of supporting the fight, passively, while aggressively attempting to fix the blame wholly and solely on the Administration. In pursuit of this shabby purpose, the leaders of the G. O. P. have relied heavily on what they hope will be the short memory of the electorate and the belief that few will examine the record. In the circumstances, it becomes a high political duty to open that record and keep it open. As a starter, we offer the following:

Charge: ". . . the Kremlin was, in effect, given a green light to grab whatever it could in . . . Korea. This was never a bipartisan policy. It was solely an Administration policy."

Fact: On January 19, 1950, the House voted, 192 to 191, against any further aid to Korea. Of the 192, 131 were Republicans, 61 were Democrats. One hundred and seventy Democrats voted in favor of further aid and only 21 Republicans. On the strength of this flat refusal even to give the Korean Republic financial assistance, the Kremlin was undoubtedly warranted in assuming that we would not send men to die in its defense.

To undo the work of the House Republicans, the Administration sent Acheson to Capitol Hill to plead for a restoration of the Korean appropriation "as a symbol" of our interest and intentions in the Far East. It was only on the most drastic appeals from the President and Acheson that the House on February 10 reversed itself by a vote of 240 to 134, but even then the Republicans were opposed, 91 to 42.

Charge: That the Administration had written off Korea as indefensible.

Fact: This is believed to have been the view of Defense Secretary Johnson. It was, on record, the view of the Republicans in Congress. A Republican minority report of the House Foreign Affairs Committee issued in July, 1949, contained this passage: "To expect Korea to withstand the aggressive political tactics of the Soviet in a surrounding climate of rampant communism would be to expect an isolated and powerless Luxemburg to repel the ideology and tactics of a Hitlerized Europe. . . . Our position [in Korea] is untenable and indefensible."

At no time was this the position of Secretary Acheson, who, rather than Johnson, is the Republicans' chief campaign target. Addressing his Assembly on April 7, President Syngman Rhee went out of his way to pay tribute to Acheson and Paul Hoffman as the two Americans who had in fact helped his country.

Charge: That the Administration failed to send the Koreans the aid that *was* voted by Congress. According to Wherry, $200 worth of signal wire was all they ever received under the $10,000,000 assistance allocation.

Fact: Republican Representative Chiperfield of Illinois, rising to oppose further aid to Korea in January of this year, reported the following: "Korea received $238,652,893 between July 1, 1945, and June 30, 1949. . . . Since that time, Korea has received an additional $60,000,000 and also $24,927,596 from the Foreign Liquidation Commissioner." Further contributions, said the Republican spokesman, "would be putting money down a rat hole."

Such is the sordid strategy through which a once great party hopes to return to glory. The cynical lies cited here are of a piece with Senator Wiley's galling complaint that the Administration has "no plan for controls," when his whole senatorial career has been given to blocking controls; and with Minority Leader Joe Martin's head-shaking over our "tragic mistakes," when he twice voted to suspend all funds to Korea and abandon it to the Communists. The "party of Lincoln" asks little. Let it fool all the people just once and it will be happy.

Liberation for What?

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

Lake Success, August 25

LIKE so many chisels, the violent words that have sharpened the Security Council's discussions during this fateful month of August are giving a new contour to what previously seemed the shapeless if hope-laden aspect of international organization. Out of debates which to the listener seem tediously repetitious emerge with growing clarity some of the genuine problems at issue. And it becomes increasingly obvious that, if these problems are to be adjusted by methods short of war, the only possible approach is that offered by the United Nations. To recast the old adage, if the U. N. did not exist, it would have to be created. This has been made par-

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VERA MICHELES DEAN, research director of the Foreign Policy Association and author of the recently published "Europe and the United States," is covering Security Council meetings for The Nation *for several weeks.*

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ticularly clear by the American proposal that the U. N. reexamine the whole Formosa problem. That, together with Peking's protest against United States intervention in Formosa, will be considered in this space next week.

Only a year ago, Trygve Lie, seeing no prospect that member nations would fulfil their Charter pledge to place military forces at the disposal of the international organization, was modestly asking for a small armed guard to defend U. N. missions sent on dangerous assignments abroad. Now, with the United States taking the lead and for the time being supplying the bulk of armed forces, war materiel, and financial resources, but with other members offering contributions of varying kinds, the United Nations sees the gradual assembling of what could become the core of a permanent security contingent.

If, however, this international force is to develop into something more than an old-fashioned coalition that will dissolve once its military purpose has been achieved, the United Nations must become the sponsor not only of collective measures against armed aggression but also of collective efforts to create conditions of stability that may help to avert future wars. In spite of the wrangling and bitter accusations that fill the council chamber, the emphasis in the corridors at Lake Success is on how to make sure the U. N. will not lose the peace once the Korean war has been won. This sentiment is reflected in the suggestions made on August 14 by Sir Benegal N. Rau, the Indian delegate, that a committee of the six non-permanent members of the Security Council study proposals for the future of Korea.

The assumption underlying the Indian proposal is that the smaller nations, which cannot be suspected of "imperialism," are in a better position than the great powers to define post-war aims that might be generally acceptable. This assumption, understandably, has little appeal to the great powers; and from the point of view of the United States it is open to the objection that this country, which is bearing the brunt of defense of South Korea, would be excluded from the discussions on a par with the U. S. S. R.—although, as the Indians point out, Britain, France, and China, also permanent members, would join the United States and Russia in this projected exclusion. The Rau proposal, even if it should bear no immediate fruit, reveals an important aspect of the new U. N.-in-the-making: that is, the determination of weaker nations, with India and Yugoslavia in the vanguard, to seek in the United Nations protection against pressures by all great powers, and to find a middle-course settlement which might prevent the Korean conflict from spreading into a general war.

The experience of Korea has only confirmed the feeling of weaker nations that, as matters stand, their political independence, economic development, and security are at the mercy of potential struggles between the great powers. U. N. members outside the Soviet bloc recognize the fundamental difference between the objectives and methods of the United States and the U. S. S. R. They appreciate the decision of President Truman to place American military forces under the aegis of the United Nations. But they are not convinced that even the United States, which clearly has no aspirations to empire-building in the nineteenth-century sense, will refrain from insisting that peoples it helps to liberate from Western colonial rule or Russian exploitation must adopt political and economic institutions modeled on the American pattern. This view is particularly marked among the Asian nations, which think of independence not only as freedom from foreign domination but also as freedom to develop the way of life they regard as best adapted to their own conditions—even if it should turn out to be Socialist or Communist.

What troubles the Asians most of all is the tendency of some Americans to say that, no matter how undesirable Chiang Kai-shek or Bao Dai may be, they are none the less better than communism—and therefore, presumably, should be accepted by China or Indo-China as necessary for the success of the common struggle "against Russia and communism." The Asian people, as Nehru has made clear, are willing to support United Nations measures to check aggression. They are not uncritical of Russian imperialism. But they are by no means sure what we have in mind when we denounce "communism."

If under the rubric "communism" we include drastic land reforms, attempts at industrialization, social controls, even the nationalization of certain major industries, then the underdeveloped countries, which regard these as essential to their future well-being and security, feel that they must part company with us. They are not "Communist," but they see no reason why they should reject economic and social changes solely because such changes may also be supported by Communists. They hope, in time, to achieve a large measure of liberty for the individual; but they realize better than we do that the soil in which democracy may some day flourish will be long in the making. Meanwhile, in carrying out reforms they consider necessary, they may have to use political methods which we regard as undesirable. To many Asians, after centuries of repressive rule, foreign or native, the choice often seems not between democracy and a police state, but between a police state that makes no reforms and one that does.

These are some of the thoughts that affect the views of India and other Asian peoples, and of Yugoslavia as well, about the future of Korea, and about the validity of the Communist regime in China. Not all Americans will agree with them. But if we value their support in the long-term task of creating a viable international organization, we shall at least have to give them our earnest consideration.

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Notes from Capitol Hill

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, August 25

WITHIN the next week or so, Mr. Truman seems certain to face one of the most difficult problems a President may meet—how much legislation passed by House and Senate can he veto without impairing his working relationship with Congress? He is determined to veto the Mundt-Ferguson anti-Communist bill, Senator McCarran's more stringent substitute, or the House Un-American Activities Committee's version—whichever is sent to his desk. He is violently opposed to the Spanish loan now firmly attached to the omnibus appropriation bill. But while his personal liaison men are working hard on these issues, ordinarily liberal Democratic members of Congress are deserting him in droves. The Democratic National Committee, which worked effectively on such matters as the Kerr natural-gas bill and the tidelands-oil bill, has been inactive.

The President's determined battle to block extremist anti-Communist legislation is being conducted with genuine courage in the face of Senator Lucas's warning that the McCarran bill was likely to be "slapped down the Administration's throat by an overwhelming majority." In advance of the debate scheduled to begin next week, a Department of Justice memorandum attacking "constitutional and practical" features of repressive legislation is being circulated. The Senate Democratic Policy Committee is passing out a point-by-point summary urging the superiority of the internal-security measure proposed by the President himself to those of Mundt-Ferguson and McCarran. Also mimeographed for the occasion, and circulated in obvious support of the President's views, are excerpts from Governor Dewey's speeches in his 1948 Oregon debate with Harold E. Stassen on the Communist question.

One other document is being passed around on Capitol Hill—a remarkable document which warns that, because of the "consuming fear of communism," a tendency is growing to "urge or tolerate witch-hunts at every stump and crossroad in order to smoke out and punish non-conformists of every shade and stripe of opinion different from that of the majority." The blunt charge is made that, except for the era of the Alien and Sedition Acts and of A. Mitchell Palmer, "it is more dangerous to be an honest liberal today than at any other period of American history." Great stress is placed upon the danger that in writing so-called "security" legislation, Congress might harm, rather than help, top-level intelligence operations. Intelligence, the memorandum points out, is simply information, and a democracy is inherently better equipped to obtain sound information than a dictatorship, where ideas unpopular with the ruling group are suppressed. But a democracy can throw away its advantages by attacking unpopular minorities with laws that dry up information "at the grass roots."

Despite all this, many Democratic Congressmen this week have clamored for Mr. Truman to "beef up" his own internal-security proposals so as to spare them the embarrassment of having to stand up and be counted on the Mundt-Ferguson and McCarran bills. Mr. Truman's suggested legislation is fairly stringent, as was pointed out editorially in this paper two weeks ago; one section might possibly be used to force all American Communists to register as foreign agents. Yet a Northern Democrat of pronounced liberal reputation has suggested that the President might improve the Administration bills by adding a provision authorizing the Attorney General to "detain" aliens suspected of being about to commit espionage or sabotage. This is equivalent to asking that the right of habeas corpus be suspended.

Mr. Truman's measured denunciation, more than three weeks ago, of the proposed Spanish loan has been repeated in detailed and specific fashion in private conversation with members of Congress. The President has pointed out that Spain could get a loan from the Export-Import Bank if Franco made basic economic reforms; he has argued that the Senate provision would give fascist Spain advantages which the United States Treasury denied to our democratic allies; he has pointed out the political error of granting special favors to a repressive dictatorship. Yet the House today voted its approval of the Spanish-loan rider to the appropriation bill as reduced by the House-Senate conference from $100,000,000 to $62,500,000. The effect is to use the appropriation bill as a means to change American foreign policy—for the worse.

The President might solve the problem created by these measures by vetoing both an extremist anti-Communist bill and the appropriation bill. But, practically speaking, he cannot exercise his constitutional veto powers too broadly. He is engaged in extracting from Congress an economic-controls bill giving him adequate authority to manage inflationary pressures during remobilization. He needs improvements in the tax bill reported by the Senate Finance Committee. He has the delicate job of extricating the country from the danger of war with Communist China over Formosa—a danger that stems directly from steps he took two months ago in order to win Republican support for his bold defense of international law in Korea.

Vice-President Barkley, today a loyal Administration leader, in 1943, as Senate Democratic leader, revolted angrily because Franklin D. Roosevelt vetoed a tax bill. Mr. Truman must now decide how many bills he can veto without inviting a Congressional rebellion.

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The Economic War

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, August 23

THE strategists of the Atlantic coalition have not only forgotten, as I recently pointed out,* that any war in our time is predominantly a political war; they have also forgotten that it is an economic war. Throughout the rearmament discussions that have been going on, whether in London or Strasbourg or Washington, one senses a complete failure to understand the difference between the Soviet economy and the economy of the Western nations. Although it may sound paradoxical when one considers the tremendous industrial strength and productive capacity of the United States, the Russian bloc is in many ways better prepared to wage economic warfare than is the Atlantic coalition. This is a fact of fundamental importance for the future plans of the Western allies, and they should face it without allowing anti-Russian feeling to obscure the truth. For if we do not reach the beginnings of a rapprochement between East and West in the relatively near future, Russia may triumph without firing a shot.

Soviet Russia's primary advantage lies in the fact that it started almost at zero. By comparison with the state of affairs existing in Russia when the Bolsheviks seized power in 1917, the decades which have followed have shown an almost steady improvement. I have been in the Soviet Union six times—in 1922, 1924, 1928, 1929, 1935, and 1946. In 1922, at the time of the great drought and famine, not a single foreign diplomatic mission in Moscow believed that Russia could recover. Every time I visited Russia, I found the Soviet government facing problems of incalculable dimensions. Yet in one aspect or another, progress was always to be seen.

The dangerous lack of objectivity with which other nations habitually regarded Russia led most people to underestimate Soviet capacity for resistance when Hitler ordered his generals, against their advice, to march into Russian territory in 1941. If one wished to be cruel, one could cite the names of outstanding diplomats and journalists who had spent many years in Russia, who gave Hitler three months at the outside to occupy Moscow. If Russia's industry and economy had not been built on a solider foundation than was generally recognized, the Red army, even with the aid sent by the United States, could not have resisted from 1941 until the American landings in North Africa the overwhelming assault of an army with Germany's huge industrial capacity behind it.

The same thing is true of Russian reconstruction since the war. Foreign experts thought that the process of recovery would be much slower than it has actually proved. Some will answer that this has been accomplished through methods of forced labor which the Western powers would never use; others, that it is due to the courage of the Russian people and their identification with the regime. I am not here discussing such controversial questions but simply reporting facts. In the economic sphere, it cannot be denied that the Russians have developed a system which permits them to do two things: to finance rearmament, and to avoid falling into the state of misery and industrial and financial crisis which accompanied the first years of the revolution. This is the important thing to keep in mind when comparing the capacity of East and West to carry on an economic war.

The nerve center of this system is, of course, Russia's concept of a directed economy—the idea of the *plan.* Russia has just finished one post-war Five-year Plan and is embarking on another. For the results, one can only consult Soviet figures and commentaries which indicate its successful completion. These will probably be dismissed by Western experts as unreliable and propagandist. But rejection of such figures in 1941 led to the mistake in estimating Russian resistance I have mentioned above.

As is customary, the Moscow press in the final year of the plan abounded in criticisms of the way certain of its aspects were being carried out. This is a method of stimulating effort and of making those responsible for the fulfilment of the plan realize that they must either meet expectations or risk failure or worse. But in a speech on March 10, 1950, Molotov indicated with satisfaction that the plan had been largely fulfilled. "Since 1948," he said, "our industry has not only reached the pre-war level, but in 1949 has surpassed it. . . . If we look back to our beginnings, we see that our production figure for heavy industry is double that of 1913. . . . And yet we do not say that this is enough, but rather, we ask for a greater effort."

That greater effort appears to be under way. Reporting on the second quarter of the new Five-year Plan, *Izvestia* on July 28, 1950, noted an increase of 21 per cent as compared with the same quarter of the previous year. Improvement was shown not only in industry but also in agriculture, where 6,000,000 more hectares were under cultivation than in 1949. Only last week, the Soviet Union announced a three-year plan to irrigate arid and semi-arid steppe lands. This was the second post-war scheme aimed at transforming the climate of the Soviet agriculture zone, the first having been a fifteen-year afforestation plan intended to halt the hot dry winds sweeping from across the Volga and the Caspian Sea.

* Political War, *The Nation,* July 22.

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At the same time, the Soviet Union is strengthening the value of the ruble and bringing prices down. From 1948 until the present time, three decreases in prices of consumer goods have been ordered, and another reduction is expected this autumn. A foreigner visiting Russia still finds the cost of a suit, a pair of shoes, a shirt, or a kitchen utensil very high as compared with prices in his own country. But here again, from the viewpoint of the Soviet citizen who knew only worse conditions in the past, the situation will seem encouraging. At any rate, due to its rigidly planned economy, which tends to iron out crises if it does not wholly prevent them, the Soviet Union is in a position to rearm, wage an economic war, if it does not come to an agreement with the West, and yet not suffer a noticeable decline in living standards.

THE countries of Western Europe, on the other hand, cannot at the same time support a war economy and maintain their present standard of living. Premier René Pleven of France, who may be accused of opportunism but not of stupidity or lack of imagination, has taken note of the alarm with which the French people face the prospect of a war economy, and has tried to alleviate it with one of his clever formulas: "This is not the hour for a peace-time economy or a war-time economy, but for that economy of security which is so urgently demanded." But even while proclaiming his "solution," he has had to preside during these last few days over a series of long-winded meetings between industrialists and the representatives of labor called for the purpose of establishing "the vital minimum wage." The trade-unions demanded 17,500 francs, while the representative of the industrial interests, M. Buron, proposed 14,000—in other words, about $36 a month at present rates. Finally, yesterday, the Cabinet agreed to raise the minimum monthly salary of the lowest-paid workers in private industry in the Paris district of 16,400 francs. This means an income of about $47 a month in the area which has the highest cost of living in France—little lower, in fact, than that of the United States. The increase has been won after months of pressure and threat on the part of all three major labor organizations, none of which seems very enthusiastic over the government's "heroic" decision. Nevertheless, the decision was rather bold, since the state of the French economy really permits no such "luxuries."

By the time the new minimum has been put into effect, prices of necessities will again have risen. Perhaps it was a coincidence, but the French worker found that in the week following the announcement of the new armaments program the price of bread went up a franc, and in the Paris markets the price of butter and other foodstuffs skyrocketed, though in August, when Paris is half empty and foodstuffs plentiful, prices usually fall.

In France, rearmament and the existing standard of living are incompatible. This fact, admitted on all hands, creates a political problem of extreme gravity. It was *L'Aube*, the official organ of the Catholic M. R. P., which on August 21, under the heading "Invitation to Stalin," warned the government that any policy which did not take into consideration the maintenance and even the improvement of the French standard of living would only prepare the way for a Communist victory, without Russia's army having to invade France.

In Great Britain, the impact of rearmament on the national economy is a source of grave concern to the imaginative leaders of the Labor Party. In its "World Plan for Mutual Aid," issued on August 20, the party tries to wipe out the deplorable impression created everywhere by the haste with which one-time promoters of Mr. Truman's Point Four have abandoned their larger projects in favor of the policy of general rearmament. The idea behind the new Labor pronouncement is to provide a substitute for the Marshall Plan when the latter ends in 1952, offering a means of combatting communism by attacking hunger and poverty throughout the world.

But for all the generosity of its tone and its promises, the document does not say how this effort is to be financed, merely stating that "all the free peoples would be expected to contribute . . . according to their ability." To begin with Britain itself, its ability is limited even before the new armaments program gets under way, since taxation already absorbs two-fifths of all private income. And laying aside the question of how manpower and

No Comment

NEW YORK, July 7—[John] O'Donnell, Washington correspondent of the [New York] *Daily News*, writes that in the next ten days Truman will send a message to Congress on the Korean question, in which he will have to try to justify his order for armed intervention in Korea, issued without consulting Congress. O'Donnell ridicules Truman's statement that the United States is undertaking only "police measures." He expresses the hope that Truman's message to Congress will lead to serious debates on the question of the violation of the Constitution.

O'Donnell writes that members of Congress should quote ironic verses published July 5 in the Chicago *Tribune*: "We have again started shooting, but this, of course, is peace. We are not soldiers at all, we are police. Don't be annoyed by this, this is not war."

Although the Senate is made up of mediocrities, writes O'Donnell, "there are still good lawyers among both Democrats and Republicans who have gained an understanding of constitutional questions and await a chance to prove that Truman has disregarded the Constitution and converted citizen soldiers into mercenaries through the votes of foreigners sitting at U. N. headquarters."—*Pravda*, July 8, page 6; *Izvestia*, July 8, page 4.

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material are to be diverted to guns, tanks, and aircraft at the expense of exports without ruining the country's economy, how can the British government hope to avoid shortages of consumers' goods, rising retail prices, and an irresistible impetus to the already strong demand for an all-round wage increase? Yet in the twelve-nation Council of Deputies meeting in London on Tuesday, Mr. Spofford, the council's American chairman, told his colleagues that their armament plans were insufficient and that they were leaning too heavily upon the United States for money, men, and equipment.

In one degree or another, all the countries in the Atlantic coalition reveal the same picture. Western Europe cannot do what Russia is doing without risking a series of crises which would lead to the very thing it desires to avoid, that is, economic collapse, social upheaval, and the probable victory of communism. In a powerful speech before the French Parliament, M. Mendes-France said that the choice was the old one between recovery and rearmament, butter and guns. Perhaps the butter-guns dilemma can be partly evaded if each European government distributes a token quantity of butter while it manufactures guns and marches directly toward inflation, passing the bill to the Treasury in Washington for payment. But in that case, the American taxpayer would have to agree to underwrite practically the whole rearmament program of Europe in addition to that of his own country. And even then, the problem of maintaining the present European standard of living, to say nothing of improving it, would not have been met.

In effect, Russia without firing a shot can engage the Western coalition in an economic war for years to come without serious consequence to its own regime and way of life, while Western Europe, under the weight of rearmament, goes from crisis to crisis, with Communist propaganda exploiting the discontent of peoples who after five years of war and five painful years of recovery had at last begun to breathe again. These are the facts that the strategists of the West seem to have forgotten to put on their agenda.

What to Do Till the Doctor Goes

BY FREDRIC WERTHAM, M. D.

Last week, Dorothy Ferman explained in these pages why she felt she had been taken for a "psychoanalytical joy ride." She and her husband were recently divorced upon the suggestion of the third of his three psychiatrists; her husband then entered a sanitarium to be treated for depression. He had been "in analysis" off and on for seven years preceding their divorce, shifting from one psychiatrist to another as he changed jobs and residences. Mrs. Ferman thinks "we might have made our marriage succeed if we had been left to our own resources." While allowing that psychotherapy has achieved much that is good, she holds that it often "seems useless and even harmful."

The editors gave a number of prominent psychiatrists an opportunity to read her article before it appeared, and invited Dr. Fredric Wertham and Dr. Gregory Zilboorg to contribute the comments which follow. Dr. Wertham, director of the Mental Hygiene Clinic of Queens General Hospital, is the author of "The World Within," "The Show of Violence," and other books. Dr. Zilboorg, associate professor of clinical psychiatry at New York Medical College, is the author of "Mind, Medicine, and Man" and co-author of "A History of Medical Psychology."—EDITORS THE NATION.

SUPPOSE Willy Loman of "The Death of a Salesman" had saved enough money to go through an old-fashioned two- or three-year psychoanalysis. It is not difficult to guess what would have happened. I am pretty sure that if Willy had been analyzed, his wife might have written an article much like Mrs. Ferman's. And the play would have been called "Divorce of a Salesman."

I would like to be able to dispute Dorothy Ferman's statements with the righteous indignation appropriate to my professional ego. I do not know who she is, nor have I any idea who her analysts were—or rather, her analysts-in-law. But what she writes rings true. In fact, I have encountered literally dozens of similar cases.

Mrs. Ferman's experience may have been a personal tragedy. It has significance for us because it illustrates a current social phenomenon.

Psychiatrists and psychoanalysts are the only physicians who blame the patient—or at least his relatives—when they do not cure him. The question is: Does Mrs. Ferman have legitimate cause for complaint, or is she wrong in resenting the treatment that disrupted her relationship with her husband? What was she supposed to do while she waited for the termination of one of those intermina-

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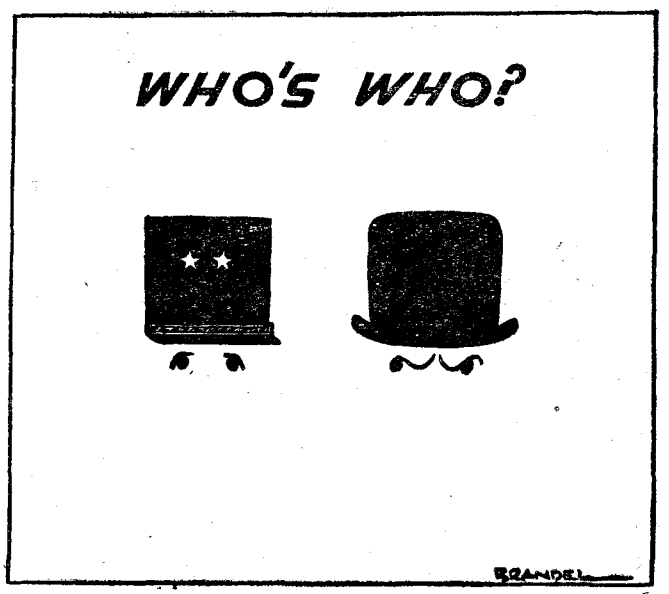
ble cures—if it was a cure? There are manuals telling us what to do till the doctor comes. But what are we supposed to do while waiting from year to year till the psychoanalyst goes?

An anxious wife whose husband had been "in analysis" for over a year and seemed worse than before wrote recently to a column that gives psychoanalytically modernized "Advice to the Lovelorn." The reply of the psychocolumnist was typical. Instead of realizing that not only people who suffer need help but also those who are near them, she indulged in the hocus-pocus of the divorced-from-life couch-ritual. She said: "Personal difficulties . . . develop out of the first basic . . . relationship between each of the parents and the child. . . . If you were to inject yourself into the picture [the wife had telephoned the doctor] it might seem [to your husband] that you are trying to reactivate the mother-child relationship." She then reproached the wife for expecting "speedy, miraculous, and magic changes," and finally transfigured the psychoanalyst in this purple passage: "Psychoanalysts cannot erect a beautiful new edifice with a solid foundation out of every ramshackle structure, weakened by the furious emotional storms that have battered it about, which is figuratively tossed on their couch." Mixed metaphors and unmixed nonsense! But there are many "personal difficulties" which do *not* develop out of anything that happened in earliest childhood. To refer them to this stereotyped first cause is often only an evasion. The threat, equally stereotyped, that the wife's assertion of her existence might "reactivate the mother-child relationship" was pure speculation.

Mrs. Ferman started with the belief that a five-day-a-week, eighteen-month psychoanalysis was the average course for "ordinary problems." Actually "ordinary problems" do not call for any orthodox psychoanalysis. Prolonged daily psychoanalysis is indicated only in definite and severe disorders. To use it at random for almost everything, as is done nowadays, is a sign not of progress but of the opposite. Yet mass advertising for this kind of decadence goes on in the guise of enlightenment, in such forms as the radio program "Psychoanalysis in Daily Living," sponsored by a psychoanalytic society. The dialectic of the development of psychotherapy parallels that of the development of intelligence tests. The determination of intelligence was originally done quickly and rather superficially. Then Konrad Rieger spent a hundred hours listing the intellectual resources of a single patient. After that, briefer and more efficient tests were devised. The new brief forms of psychoanalytic therapy are both more scientific and more efficacious than the long-drawn-out process of the classical period.

From many years' experience in clinics I have come reluctantly to the conclusion that eight out of ten orthodox psychoanalyses are not indicated, and that six out of ten are more harmful than helpful. In recent years I have noted another extraordinary phenomenon: for the same type of difficulty a long psychoanalysis and the electric-shock treatment—two diametrically contradictory methods—may be advised and carried out. If the future medical historian of our time does not call this anarchy, I wonder what he will call it.



[*Answer on page 209*]

THE vaunted "psychiatric viewpoint and vocabulary" used by Mrs. Ferman's husband as a social-work executive is a false and destructive instrument. Social problems are social problems, and you cannot psychoanalyze them out of existence. Psychiatric social service, with which I have had daily contact for many years, is indispensable. But psychiatric social service is increasingly becoming psychoanalytic social service, and more and more even the "social" is being left out, until only psychoanalytic service remains. That doesn't help people with real social and family problems. Mrs. Ferman's observation that her husband's feeling against his mother seemed to have been intensified rather than ameliorated was sound. During prolonged periods of free association parents often become more powerful figures than they actually were in childhood, because they are seen through adult eyes.

Mrs. Ferman as a real person seems to have been left out of the analysis and classified among what Freud calls the "enemies"—either the "instinctual demands of the id" or the "moral demands of the super-ego." When these abstractions were fresh, they had great value in clarifying psychological problems. When applied by rote, however, and to an unsuitable object, they are lifeless categories. Relatives of patients often feel, as evidently Mrs. Ferman felt, that they are regarded as either poison or therapy for no reason that they can accept. They feel that the analyst makes life revolve around the analysis instead of the analysis serving life. Quite apart from the avoidable

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mishandling of the emotional life of the marital partner, the expenditure of time and money gives the continuing psychoanalysis an unhealthy weight in the life of a family.

Neither Mrs. Ferman nor her husband could face the present—he because he was preoccupied with the past, and she because she was worried about the future. If such a situation persists after over a year's treatment, the psychotherapy has been bad, even if the purity of the theory and method has been rigidly preserved. Mrs. Ferman is also correct, I believe, when she implies that old-style psychoanalysis has not yet learned to let people rely on their own resources or helped to mobilize their resources. I know of hardly any instance of an orthodox psychoanalyst telling a person that he did not need psychoanalysis, although Freud said that very definitely to a number of people who consulted him. Orthodox psychoanalysts see no need to classify diseases and therefore have no scientific yardstick with which to determine when analysis is indicated. Their glib concept of a sick, neurotic society makes them find almost everyone sick and in need of psychoanalysis.

Despite the analysis, or rather because of it, everybody in the Ferman family suffered from anxiety. Nothing could be more anti-psychotherapeutic. The formula triumphed over the facts. Whether the analysis was faulty or the wrong method was used is of course hard to tell. I agree with what Mrs. Ferman says about the "dangerous and frightening power" of psychiatrists. There needs no Marx come from the grave to tell us of the class bias of psychiatrists and psychoanalysts. They try to adjust people to the very circumstances that made them sick in the first place and that keep them sick. Lacking a social frame of reference which would fit them to give patients good advice or honest encouragement, they extol methods according to which no advice or encouragement is given. They have their patients lead a double existence—half lying on a couch and half standing up to life—and are unable to unite the two existences constructively.

Their advice on marital problems, as Mrs. Ferman noted, is contradictory because they see a social institution like marriage from an over-individualistic point of view. Orthodox analysts treat their patients' most minute introspections with Proust-like concern—while they sit high in the councils which sanction conditions in which the psychotherapeutic ration of the indigent may be seven minutes every five weeks. (This is actual routine.)

Psychotherapy is a clinical science, whatever the differences of the various schools. Those of us who try to follow Freud's exhortation to mix the gold of pure psychoanalysis with other metals, such as suggestion, feel that Mrs. Ferman could have been helped, that at any rate it was not necessary to hurt her. I believe that as things are at present the patients are often right, and so are their relatives. If this be treason, send me to St. Elizabeth's!

Ignorance—Amateur and Professional

BY GREGORY ZILBOORG, M. D.

THESE words on the article by Dorothy Ferman and Dr. Wertham's response to her are written with both eagerness and diffidence.

I am eager to comment on a vital issue involving the mental health of hundreds of thousands of people whose neuroses lead them to carry an olive branch on their lips and a stiletto on their tongues, so that they both kiss and kill psychoanalysis with the self-righteous bitterness which is the lot of people who walk around this world like "true normals" but who are actually wandering, lost, and not a little confused. I am diffident, however, because it is an unpleasant and painful job for a doctor to comment in the public press about individual patients—for whatever their errors might be toward a given medical specialty, these errors are results of actual sad experiences and to patients they are not errors but realistic convictions.

One does not have to be "insane" to be the victim of a number of the illusions and delusions of which our society is full. The fact that people may be ready to die for their illusions is (or ought to be) so impressive that it is unrealistic, immoral, sinful to treat them with the contentious contempt with which we usually treat our opponents in the midst of severe social crises. It is more than pseudo-pious triteness to insist that they be understood for they know not what they are doing.

Mrs. Ferman is an unfortunate, unhappy, bitter person. I really follow Fredric Wertham in his sympathy for her; but when he joins her in her bitterness I leave him, for to groan with a suffering patient is not very illuminating and certainly not at all helpful to the patient himself.

Let us at once agree on the general fact that in our age of propaganda and pragmatic go-getting, psychiatry and psychoanalysis have been oversold, as everything we have and do is oversold. We oversell freedom and make it a high-sounding slogan with very flimsy content, like certain brands of cigarettes or pills or vitamins, or like "people's democracies," which are dictatorships for the greatest happiness for the greatest

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number of people—when that greatest number is hardly more than a majority of one. Anything that is oversold loses a great deal of its essence. Psychiatry and psychoanalysis are not exceptions. However, when we "come down to cases" it is difficult to see clearly where the propaganda of our days and the individual neurosis converge or diverge, for in an individual the so-called "spirit of the time" and the personal, all too personal, are completely fused.

OUR sympathy for Mrs. Ferman's misfortune ought not to blur our sight. There is no getting away from the fact that Mrs. Ferman has troubles of her own. She confuses psychiatrist with psychoanalyst; it is like confusing a diagnostician with a surgeon—both may be able to make a diagnosis, but only the surgeon can perform the necessary operation. She also says that she tried to be "a substitute psychiatrist" for her husband. This is as foolish or, if done seriously, as neurotic as for a good housewife to want to be a substitute surgeon for her husband's appendicitis.

She tells us that a majority of physical ills (of a psychological origin) "would disappear if left alone." This is not true, as it is not true that a voluntary entrance into a sanitarium for depression is a form of self-indulgence. Licensed mental institutions do not admit patients who are not ill. A depression is a serious illness. The first divorce of Mrs. Ferman's husband, like the second, does appear to me a rather typical manifestation of certain men's troubles. You can find such men in Hollywood and in the Bronx, among public accountants, social workers, bankers, clerks, and psychoanalysts. This is a phenomenon that has something to do with the instability of our middle- and upper-middle-class hedonistic civilization—not with psychoanalysis.

Mrs. Ferman reveals the essential weakness of our self-advertising "overselling" world when she says that she tried and for a while succeeded in adopting "the vocabulary and the viewpoint" of her husband's so-called psychoanalytic orientation. So many of us confuse words and content, vocabulary and viewpoint, terminology and fact. Mrs. Ferman says that her husband was divorced and later remarried on the advice of the psychoanalyst. I have no reason to disbelieve her. But I have more than good reason to say that no true psychoanalyst ever advises marriage or divorce as part of the therapy.

It is an inalienable principle of true psychoanalysis, or psychoanalytic "orthodoxy," to warn patients not to change their civil status or career while under treatment. This means that neither divorce, nor marriage, nor change of profession is advised during treatment by a well trained and fully accredited psychoanalyst. More than that, these are specifically "forbidden" as it were, as the patient is forbidden to touch his fresh wounds to avoid infection. The patient may, of course, tear off a scale, scratch and infect his wound, but you cannot attack the surgeon for that. You may consider marriage merely a social institution, or a sacrament, or both; you may consider divorce a social institution, or a tragedy, or a sin. Whatever you happen to think, no reputable doctor may consider marriage or divorce a part of psychotherapy.

I know, of course, that Dr. Wertham's accusations are not wholly unfounded, but regrettable missteps and gross violations of the very best principles of psychoanalysis and psychotherapy are due to the lacks in our medical education and to the verbose ignorance and terminological impertinence of the public and of "advertisers." Our medical-practice acts do not define psychotherapy as a specialty. We do not have a National Board of Psychotherapy. Literally every Tom, Dick, or Harry, with or without an M. D. attached to his name, may set himself up as a "psychoanalyst," and there is no legal or professional recourse because in the eyes of the law these ladies and gentlemen "do not prescribe medicine" and therefore violate no law. It is as simple and as horrible as that.

The efforts of the psychoanalytic institutes have not yet succeeded in changing this situation. Moreover, the many crises in our critical world are reflected in our medical world. The American Medical Association is in politics, the various psychoanalytic organizations are in politics, and the fragmentation of psychoanalysis into schools is really no different from the fragmentation of the Marxians into factions and of Christianity into sects.

Something must be done, of course. A lot must be done. But little can be achieved by attacking psychoanalysis. Over a hundred years ago, socially prominent ladies in Boston used to forgather for laughing parties. They would inhale the then recently discovered nitrous oxide gas "to have fun," that is, to get a nitrous oxide jag. They would also inhale ether—for the same purpose. Attacking the medical profession for the public's propensity to make a fad out of many serious discoveries is both silly and useless. Nitrous oxide and ether anesthesia are no longer the social rage in Boston, but ether and gas anesthesia are used there with skill and discrimination in all hospitals. It takes a long time for the public to become humble and submit to knowledge in exchange for its garrulous and gullible ignorance.

I WOULD not impose upon the reader many of the thoughts which occurred to me as I reflected on Dr. Wertham's reflections on Mrs. Ferman's case. Dr. Wertham is an excellent clinician and frequently an inspired man. I cannot understand his anti-psychoanalytical prejudice. We could "discuss" *ad infinitum* and get further and further away from the subject if we employed the method of charges and countercharges. In

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daily life such a method is totally out of place, for it proves nothing while attempting to disprove much.

It is interesting and at the same time melancholy to observe how confused the best minds and the most charitable hearts become when they engage in attacking a science for the fads which the public makes out of it, and for the prejudices which it weaves into our misconceptions of the science.

The so-called immorality of psychoanalysis and its alleged contribution to the disruption of family life are attacked simultaneously by Monsignor Sheen, by Mrs. Ferman, and by Dr. Wertham. They are all wrong and for the identical reason. They mistake use for abuse, earned titles for self-decorations, illness for unreasonableness, and Freud for the ghost which so many people in their amateurish or professional ignorance make of him.

Beside the Point

TREKKING through the Middle West, I often wondered in my provincial way how the good people of that region managed to live out their lives without benefit of the New York newspapers. What could they know of the world who read only the East Overshoe *Morning Trumpet*, the Baraboo *Watchdog and Enterpriser*, or the Chicago *Tribune*?

Just back after a tour of the Great Lakes states, I have looked again at the twin giants of metropolitan journalism—the *Times* and the *Herald Tribune*—and I am no longer so sure that the Midwesterners are badly off. Plainly I am more baffled than enlightened. The fault isn't that of the papers, mind you; it's just that they reflect too much, rather than too little, of the world and the world these days is not a thing that bears close inspection. I don't pretend to know whether it's due to sunspots, Marxism, wonder drugs, or just seventeen years of Democratic rule, but my first glimpse of the New York press convinces me that there's something mighty queer going on. Consider:

Item 1. "The House today applauded tributes to former Representative Andrew J. May of Kentucky, now in Federal prison on bribery charges." The Majority Leader, no less, called the distinguished convict "a great American" and suggested that his district would be "justified in being proud of him." And, speaking for the opposition in a burst of bi-partisan solidarity, Representative Short of Missouri said that May had rendered "a great and honorable service to his nation during World War II," in which he peddled war contracts for a private take of $53,000. This spirit of forgiveness is admirable and Christian, but I can't help remembering a certain Secretary of State who was all but drawn and quartered by this same House, not for calling a convicted man a "great American," but merely for saying he wouldn't turn his back on him in his time of trouble.

Item 2: Jasper McLevy, Bridgeport's veteran Socialist Mayor, will run for governor of Connecticut as the choice of two parties—the Socialist and something called the Independence Party, a splinter from the extreme right tip of the G. O. P. This frenzied little group was founded by Vivien Kellems, Joan of Arc of Connecticut manufacturers, who once spoke of the late William Howard Taft as "socialistic" and who has been waging a fierce war against the income tax as the brain-child of Karl Marx. "Jasper McLevy and I," Miss Kellems says, "stand for the same things. I consider him a great American." No telling where you'll run into great Americans in times like these.

Item 3: Senator Wherry, who has yet to be called a great American, says "the blood of our boys in Korea is on [Acheson's] shoulders" because he didn't give the Koreans the kind of financial aid that Wherry and his colleagues wouldn't allow him to give. "It doesn't make any difference what I did or didn't do," the Senator says. His argument appears to be that the Secretary should have had better sense than to listen to him and be taken in by all that guff about bi-partisan foreign policy.

Item 4: At the age of forty-four, and after twenty years, more or less, of left-wing politics, Lee Pressman suddenly detected Communist influences at work in the American Labor Party. Very sensitive to this sort of thing, which apparently no one had hitherto called to his attention, he instantly resigned from the party.

Item 5: New York state has confiscated a blue jay which Julian B. Garcia, with the aid of a home-made incubator, had hatched from an egg found in Riverside Park. Mr. G. claims that he saved the egg from some children who were about to crush it, but the authorities say he'd have to have a license to keep it and licenses go only to recognized ornithologists. If he wants to coop up a greyhound in his rooming house, or keep an alligator in the bathtub, it will be all right with the state—but blue jays belong to the people.

Items 6 and 7: Scientists can't account for a rain of barley and corn on the roof of the Empire State Building, and police are at a loss to explain the spraying of Atlantic City by machine-gun bullets from the air.

Back I go to Eagle's Gulch, where the *Daily Crumpet* reports nothing more complicated than the visit of Mr. and Mrs. Sanford Dunkel and son Herbert to Mrs. Dunkel's sister in Chippewa Falls.

R. B.

Answer to Who's Who? (page 206): De Gaulle, Churchill.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Essays and Asides

THE THIRD THOMAS HARDY

BY LESLIE A. FIEDLER

THE strategies of revaluation are perhaps the most fascinating of critical exercises; certainly for the critic who is also a writer they are the most vital. By the deposition or reinstitution of old culture heroes, and the elevation of new ones, the artist-critic prepares a congenial tradition for the reception of his own work and that of his contemporaries. A rival tradition, promulgated largely by non-creative critics, pretends to hold up an absolute standard against this strategic one but turns out usually to defend the tastes picked up by middle-aged professors in their adolescence. Thomas Hardy is a case in point. Deeply admired by such perpetuators of post-Victorian attitudes as William R. Rutland or Samuel Chew for his obvious architectonics and a "philosophy" easily detached for blue-book answers, Hardy has been largely despised for those very qualities by practitioners and defenders of the new literature.

F. R. Leavis represents the latter point of view in its least subtle form; for him Hardy is "chock-full of faults and falsity," and though not without an impressive charm, "clumsy" and finally lacking "the rightness with which the great novelists show their profound sureness of their essential purpose." Were this merely the opinion of a critic notable for gross lapses of taste—he considers the work of Sterne, for instance, "irresponsible (and nasty) trifling"—it would be no great matter, but Leavis's opinion is in this case part of a new critical orthodoxy; besides which, the phrase "chock-full of faults and falsity" is quoted from Henry James, who speaks with special authority in our time.

Add to this T. S. Eliot's drastic rejection of Hardy as a novelist—and one has a sense of the dilemma faced by Albert J. Guerard in his attempt to rescue Hardy from foes and friends alike.*

Himself a practicing novelist, Mr. Guerard shares Eliot's contempt for Hardy's fundamentally shallow, sentimental, and melodramatic *Weltanschauung,* as well as James's awareness of the inept writing and construction found everywhere beneath a show of mechanical neatness. Hardy's hopelessness as a craftsman is compounded by his heretical refusal to take his work quite seriously; in Jamesian terms he is frankly immoral, with his ready-made plots, his endings tailored to popular taste, and his Prefaces with their cynical disavowals of anything that might offend his readers. How, then, redeem him in terms useful to current practice and sensibility?

One can always insist yet again on the purity of Hardy's sympathy for the insulted and injured; but beginning there, one is likely to be betrayed into accepting as ultimate, as do the "post-Victorians," Hardy's "unqualified faith in the goodness of a humanity more sinned against than sinning." Such a faith accords poorly with the attitudes of our preferred models among the novelists, who far from yielding to such excesses of charity, insist upon the real possibility of damnation. We do not demand any particular theology of our greatest writers, but we look to them for a profound sense of what was once called "original sin." In what sense does Hardy's view of evil as meaningless accident, a cosmic gimmick, fit in with the profound visions of sin and suffering in Dostoevsky or Melville, Conrad or Gide?

Surprisingly enough, it is with the latter two that Guerard has chosen to place Hardy, planning a series of three books that will present this odd trinity as pioneers of anti-realism and exponents of the demonic, among them spanning the passage from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. Strategically it is an admirable juxtaposition; the air of unregenerate old-fashionedness that clings to the admirer of Hardy is dissipated by the mention of Conrad, whose reputation has continued to grow, and Gide, who has been for several generations a special hero of the young. Beside the conscious artistry of the other two, the casual roughness of Hardy becomes more than ever visible, but we are brought up short by the unforeseen evocation of "anti-realism" and the "demonic."

What was for earlier critics a residue of regrettable "nastiness" Mr. Guerard now attempts to show is central to Hardy's achievement, an untrumpeted intuition far more satisfying to us than the declared metaphysical intent of the novels. One is tempted to smile a little at Mr. Guerard's proud assertion that the devil appears at least three times in Hardy's works; such are the strange credentials that the serious writer must show in our world. And yet who can deny that the rediscovery of the devil is one of our greatest accomplishments?

Understood in this light, the infamous "coincidences" that so disturbed the earlier readers of Hardy cease to be mere intrusive flaws, imported from Victorian thrillers; they become, rather, structural devices for foreshortening and dramatizing the essential "absurdity" of human life, for insisting on the irrational in the teeth of an all-pervasive demand to present a rational picture of a world defined by mechanistic science as absolutely predictable. We are sick to death of the "laboratory" novel of the "realists," in which situations arise from antecedent causes with the cold inevitability of elements combining in a test tube. Against this desire to prove all possible futures merely unexplored clichés, Conrad, Gide, Joyce, or Mann has consciously arrayed the devices of symbolism or depth psychology.

Hardy, on the other hand, reached

* "Thomas Hardy." Harvard University Press. $3.50.

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toward the demonic, mythic dimension, and did so *unconsciously*, by virtue of his connection with an unbroken popular tradition of story-telling within which it has always been assumed that the purpose of fiction is to make the incredible credible by presenting the stuff of dreams with an air of actuality. Now that we have come to appreciate the role of the unconscious and the irrational in the everyday world, we are able to understand the aspect of truth which the story-teller's "lie" has preserved for us against the ravages of science and rationalism.

It is not because Hardy is "naive" in this regard that he is not completely successful in evoking the absurd but because he is neither naive enough nor sophisticated enough; he inhabits a halfway house. The clue is in his preface to "The Hand of Ethelberta." "A high degree of probability was not attempted in the arrangement of incidents," Hardy writes. "The characters themselves, however, were meant to be consistent and human." Had Hardy been either sophisticated or naive enough to treat characters with the same contempt for probability with which he treated the march of events, he might have produced total novels of the "absurd" like Kafka or Gide or James Joyce. But the absurdity remains external, a physical context, and unless his novels are read as allegories, with the *id* of the characters symbolically projected into the world of nature and chance, they tend to pull apart at the seams, being at last neither high art nor folk art but the *ersatz* of folk art, namely, popular art.

An analogous impurity is found in the style of the novels. The set pieces of heavy-handed philosophizing are extractable and can be forgiven. Hardy was simply not an intelligent man; but intelligence is optional for the novelist, such a great writer as Richardson being at least as stupid as Hardy. Even the clumsiness of the main narrative line, at first annoying, tends to disappear in the way Katherine Anne Porter has suggested: "Who does not remember it? And in actual reading what could be duller? . . . Except for this: in my memory of that episode . . . I have seen it, I was there. When I read it, it almost disappears from view, and afterward comes back, phraseless, living in its somber clearness, as Hardy meant it to do, I feel certain." There is a touch of mystification in this, but also more than a touch of truth. Ideally, Hardy should have been the kind of oral story-teller he makes Ethelberta, whose words are heard and gone, not ink but breath, leaving only images and impressions whose real life is in the memory rather than the library.

But he lived in an age when the thick book was the eminently salable commodity; and he compounded the necessary failings of a bard in such a time with "literary" bad writing for which there is no excuse. It is open to question whether one can forgive the novelist who writes, "Meanwhile there had entered the room below a personage who, to judge from her voice and the quick pit-pat of her feet, was a maiden young and blithe. Mrs. Martin welcomed her by the title of Miss Tabitha Lark." With Mr. Guerard I am willing to waive condemning Hardy for failing to be what he had no desire to be, realist or Jamesian; and were he all, in Mr. Guerard's phrase, "antique simplicity," I should have no trouble accepting him. But what of the pretentious failings, the arty and the cute?

The approach of this book leads, I think, to a better understanding of what Hardy essentially *is;* whether it makes possible our appropriation of him as a vital Ancestor is a question it rather poses than answers. Taken together with the Hardy Issue of the *Southern Review* (summer, 1940), it provides the basic definitions for further investigation and discussion.

The Marshall Plan and After

THE ECONOMICS OF FREEDOM: THE PROGRESS AND FUTURE OF AID TO EUROPE. By Howard S. Ellis. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper and Brothers. $5.

THIS impressive study of the Marshall Plan and United States foreign economic policy may receive less attention than it deserves because of the war in Korea, which obviously changes the European situation in several important respects, but the thoughtful analysis of long-range problems is even more cogent today than when it was written a few months ago.

Dr. Ellis, Professor of Economics at the University of California, headed a distinguished research staff assembled to evaluate the European Recovery Program under the auspices of a group of well-known public figures called the Council on Foreign Relations. General Dwight D. Eisenhower was chairman of the Council's Aid to Europe Group, and contributed the introduction to this report, which represents the composite work of the staff. Not the least of its virtues is that Dr. Ellis has made it into a unified book, rather than the usual loosely coordinated collection of individual essays.

It would take more space than a review allows merely to list in detail the range of subjects covered, from tariffs and exchange problems to the possible effects on Europe of an ambitious Point Four program for development of the world's backward areas. The 549 pages are filled not only with facts but with remarkably forthright comment on the effects to be expected from various courses of action. Political obstacles, both in Europe and in the United States, are faced in exactly the same objective spirit as are the problems of producing and distributing goods.

The economic theories of the authors are eclectic, but obviously very much under the influence of Keynes, particularly in relation to money and purchasing power. Perhaps they are a bit too optimistic when they write: "Belief in the therapeutic value of depression and unemployment has vanished, and even the idea that a little bit of recession may be a good thing has succumbed to the realization that small recessions have a way of growing into big ones if not offset by vigorous government action. Even the venerated canon of the annually balanced federal budget persists only with a minority of die-hards." They are certainly not wrong in reiterating that a serious recession in the United States would be fatal to the political objectives of the Marshall Plan. And while current military programs have banished any immediate danger of recession, it would be disastrous to overlook the possible effects of a drastic cutback in military spending and foreign aid if

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relations with Russia should suddenly improve.

No final conclusions are reached, but Dr. Ellis writes in the closing chapters, "The European Recovery Program has thus far been a decided—though not an unqualified—success. But whether by 1952 the program will have provided a lasting solution for Europe's trade disequilibrium is subject to serious doubt." Even on this point, however, he is cautiously optimistic.

The basic problem posed by the book is whether the leaders of the Atlantic Pact nations—to say nothing of the people—can sufficiently grasp the essentials of an extremely complicated economic and political situation to take the many actions necessary for permanent improvement. The challenge to the democracies is well summed up in the following words: "We need a policy that is more sophisticated in its aims, more flexible in finding means, and more convincing in its public justification."

CHARLES E. NOYES

"Messianic Men"

RUSSIA AND WESTERN MAN. By Walter Schubart. Frederick Ungar Publishing Company. $3.75.

WALTER SCHUBART is a Latvian philosopher and sociologist whose book deserves a notice only because it has received wide attention in Europe. The unwary reader might buy it under the impression that it offered some valuable insights on the present struggle between Russian communism and the West. But the author regards communism as only a passing phase in the unfolding of the Russian genius. His view of history is a compound of Spengler, Sorokin, and the Russian national messianists who preceded the Bolshevists. His historical generalizations are even less plausible than Sorokin's.

According to Schubart there is a rhythm in world events which allows four types of "man" to emerge periodically. The types are: the "harmonious man" who "experiences the universe as a cosmos"; the "heroic man" who regards it as his mission to bring order into a chaotic world; the "ascetic man" who flees the disorder of the times; and the "messianic man" "who desires to restore to the shattered world around him that unity and completeness which he feels within himself." The "harmonious" and the "ascetic man" are lost after the introduction. The book deals with the conflict between the supposedly heroic or "Promethean" culture of Europe and the "messianic" culture of Russia. We are assured that the Promethean culture of Europe, which includes every conceivable phenomenon from Lutheranism to materialism, is on the wane; the future belongs to the Russian messianic type, despite the fact that the Russian Communist is more "Promethean" than "messianic." It is not clear just how the original genius of Russia is to triumph over both communism and the West; but the author is quite certain that it will.

How can history finally withstand the genius of the Russian type? For "only the Russian recognizes and emphasises the peculiar value of sacrifice. . . . The Russian can attain heights that can never be reached by a European but on the average he sinks below the line at which the ordinary European is able to maintain himself. . . . The corruption of Russian officials is a well known fact, but even this is partly the result of the subjugation of the cause or object to the person. . . . Only in Russia is the messianic soul at home. Russia alone is predestined to fulfil the apostolic command, 'Go forth into the world.' . . . It is always their urge to achieve a universal mankind, which, even in politics, drives the Russians as apostles of redemption beyond their own frontiers. . . . Promethean man already bears upon his brow the sign of death. Now let the Man of the Millennium be born."

Actually Russia is not the only nation which has indulged in this kind of extravagant messianism, but no nation has taken these silly notions more seriously. Russian communism, far from being an antithesis to this mood, is actually a secularized version and proves how dangerous it is. It does seem strange that such ideas still have enough potency to persuade a Latvian thinker to take them seriously and to prompt European readers to peruse his animadversions. If we must have these prognostications of the future, it would be simpler to turn to astrology.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

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Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE production of "Borned in Texas" (Fulton Theater) has many faults, most of them deriving, it seems to me, from the fact that the director and the actors have succeeded only intermittently in catching the mood of Mr. Riggs's "tall tale." The tale is set in Oklahoma Territory early in the century and it relates how a hell-raising character named Texas (Anthony Quinn), who has just wrecked a jail they've tried to put him into, comes upon the roadside camp of Pap Radar, who prefers to live in a movable covered wagon. Radar's daughter Hannie (Marsha Hunt), pretty and as full of spirit as the Texan, is in residence, having left the mere farmer she had married in a homemaking impulse. The farmer is there too, pursuing Hannie, and his two loutish "hands" have followed *him*.

Hannie, by way of showing her joy at meeting an honest-to-God man, dresses Texas down for raising hell. Thereupon Texas, bemused, goes back to the town to square himself. He only gets into more trouble and then comes back to take another dressing down from Hannie for having truck with the law.

The farmer, after his nature as it used to be regarded in the great open spaces, makes a last attempt to deliver Texas to the marshal, but his plot is foiled and the covered wagon moves off with Texas and Hannie "happy ever after."

"Borned in Texas" is a tall tale; it is also a humorous commentary on the tall tale. Therein lies the charm of the piece, which is very nicely written; and therein too lies the difficulty for director and actors. The mood is hard to catch and harder to maintain; contemporary New York and New Yorkers are a long way from Oklahoma Territory; and Mr. Riggs's little play is not suited to the conventions of Broadway in which directors and actors are necessarily enmeshed. Miss Hunt and, up to a point, Mr. Quinn, do succeed in conveying the mood. So do Frank Twedell as Pap Radar and Clifford Carpenter as the farmer. The judge (Daniel Reed) and the courtroom scene are funny in their own right, and the burlesque here, though it is a little broad, is not too much out of line. But the two louts are so badly deployed that they would be fatal to almost any production; as for the voice that brays the balladic account of the action from one of the top boxes, it should be greatly reduced in volume and retired to the wings.

The settings and costumes, I am happy to say, are right, but in general the production is a hodge podge of moods and styles. Yet, perhaps because I was "borned" in Utah, I enjoyed the play for its intention and in spite of its faults. The material Mr. Riggs uses is authentic and I like his comic and poetic handling of it. He may be recalled as the author of "Green Grow the Lilacs," a better play in the same vein, which didn't have much success either until it was turned into something else—namely "Oklahoma"—which suited Broadway conventions and was attractive in its own way but had little to do with the original.

Films

MANNY FARBER

HOLLYWOOD'S move from studio-built to on-the-spot productions has led to well regulated rather than raw realism ("Lost Boundaries" vs. "Open City"), and judging from recent films even more unexpected developments are on the way. Marlon Brandon's "throw-away" tactics in "The Men" may swerve naturalistic acting from "dead-pan" to florid, and produce a new tribe of instinctual fire-balls who explode only during the actual shooting in order to circumvent every theatrical point on which the director had planned. Elia Kazan distils the corn out of the city documentary in "Panic in the Streets." The photography in "Edge of Doom" (in a shrewd attempt to mix the physicality of theater with the journalistic aspect of films) gets so close to the action that any further intimacy will put the camera inside the actors. In fact, this close-up style—huge bodies, faces hypnotically looming from the screen—gets very close to painting: the flat, massive envelopment of space found in Matisse or in painters like Kees and Baziotes.

"The Man"—a dull, over-designed

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primer on paraplegia—rehabilitates a sullen introverted patient (Brando) and then drops him into soap-opera. The script concentrates on the savage wit and dull pain of spinal cases, with an unhappy talent for making slick stereotypes of a cast largely made up of patients from Birmingham Veterans Hospital. Of the Hollywood players, Richard Erdman does a kind-hearted clown with the cocky insensitivity of a child star; a prima donna M. D. is done with hard conceit by Everett Sloane, who makes a stage business even of sucking a milk shake. Brando, however, nearly script-worshipped into a prig, gives his role a likable amateurishness by brilliant underplaying, delaying on cues, slouching through his lines.

Although "The Men" is excessively composed, abstract visual effects are achieved at the expense of naturalness of action. Zinneman's cold craftsmanship and somewhat innocent view of Americans leads to a basketball scene (Brando deploying down court with an ending close-up of him hooking in the winning basket) made up of diagrammatic moves, staccato editing, and an understanding of sports that must have come from reading Frank Merriwell. Zinneman sometimes tones down his artiness and with Brando's help gets poetic effects in which the tragedy is in the space that divides people.

Kazan's New Orleans manhunt, "Panic in the Streets"—a forty-eight-hour journal of a diverted plague—needs more medical curiosity and less vigorous gab. The discovery of a hapless, unidentified victim of two bullets and a deadly contagious disease sets the city officials (Richard Widmark, Paul Douglas) on a race to nab the murderer (Walter Palance) who is unwittingly touching off a slight epidemic of pneumonic plague. Kazan, the true New Yorker, cuts movie life down to virulent conversation between suspicious opponents, who, like the average Broadwayite, hide character under an easily read appearance and demeanor. All that one gets from Widmark & Co. is a frustrating surface of gesture and grimace. This type of melodramatic travelogue is fun because the writer (Richard Murphy) dodges the places haunted by tourists and corny realists, stumbles into scenes that are already in motion and need no build-up, and disguises folksy insights by a cold sophistication. While two thugs growl at each other, one is munching Nabisco wafers; a brief look at the kitchen of a Greek café reveals a hopeless cook cutting her way through a fog of grease. But for a story about such things as rat fleas, bacilli pesti, and coughers, the script misses scientific excitements. The bullying tactics of Widmark and Douglas are watched on board a tanker, but not the doctor, below deck, ferreting for rats. The camera is usually one room removed from plague victims, looking the wrong way on autopsies, and forsaking the careers of germs left by Palance on various coffee sacks, Bendix washers, and scratch sheets.

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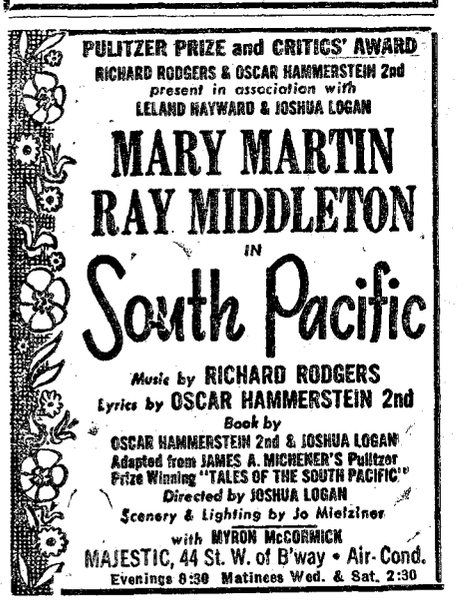
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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

A GROUP of pieces from Bach's Clavierübung Part 3 for organ was issued by Capitol last winter; now another group is issued by Allegro (AL 57): again the magnificent opening Prelude in E flat and the closing Fugue (which I find impressive as a piece of fugal construction but not moving as a piece of music), and in between the longer versions of the Chorale Preludes, some of them wonderful, some of them not. They are played by Robert Noehren "on the Baroque registers of the Schlicker organ in the Kenmore Presbyterian Church, Buffalo" with clarity and power—the sound of the organ itself being remarkably clear and reproduced with equally remarkable clarity, which is enough to make this version preferable to Capitol's. Surfaces are audible and crackling, and side 3 has a much higher volume-level than the others.

On a Columbia record are Bach's Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue, Fantasia in C minor, and Overture in French Style, played on the piano by Gyorgy Sandor. The Fantasy is an impressive piece; the Fugue I care less for; the other pieces I find completely uninteresting. Sandor plays them well.

Mozart's Piano Sonatas K.280, 282, and 284 are played by Leonid Hambro on an Allegro record (AL 54). All three have individual movements which are very fine; and Hambro plays them with clarity and force in the articulation of phrase and structure, and clean execution in passage-work. With treble reduced the sound is good; surfaces are gritty.

Beethoven's Piano Sonata Opus 31 No. 3, one of the best of that period, begins with two measures *Allegro* followed by retardation, which Rubinstein, in his performance for RCA Victor, feels free to change to two measures *Andante* followed by acceleration; and this sort of thing throughout the work—e.g. the changing of *p's* to *ff's* in the trio of the minuet movement and the finale—added to the sentimentalizing *affetuoso* style amounts to falsification of the work. The 78 rpm records reproduce the shallow, metallic sound of the kind of piano Rubinstein likes; and surfaces are noisy.

Schumann's "Fantasiestücke" are distorted by Jacqueline Blancard on a London record (LPS 210) even worse than by Rubinstein in his recent Victor performance.

A number of Chabrier's most fascinating piano pieces, including several from Dix Pièces pittoresques that Balanchine used in "Cotillon," are on an Allegro record (AL 56) in performances by Soulima Stravinsky that don't even approximate professional caliber. Surfaces are noisy.

Victor has issued Schumann's great

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song-cycle, "Dichterliebe," sung very beautifully—except for a few constricted and forced high notes—by Mack Harrell, baritone, with George Reeves at the piano. The recording allows the piano to be heard in proper relation to the voice; but what is heard is the usual accompanist's subdued and colorless playing and an ineffective performance of the richly significant piano part of the cycle.

Victor also has issued a group of songs by Hugo Wolf sung by Blanche Thebom, mezzo-soprano, with William Hughes at the piano. They include several fine ones—"Auf einer Wanderung," "Auf dem grünen Balkon," "Verschwiegene Liebe," "Um Mitternacht"; and several which I find poor—the unbearably cute "Elfenlied," and "Cophtisches Lied" No. 2, "Schlafendes Jesukind," and "Verschling der Abgrund," which are examples of the Wolfian declamation that conveys the meaning of the words but has no other musical value. Miss Thebom sings them with excellent inflection of phrase and a voice whose lower notes are lovely but whose higher ones acquire shrillness and tremolo. Mr. Hughes's playing is sometimes heavy-handed.

The album-covers of these Schumann and Wolf recordings are filled to bursting with history, biography, and instruction, including instruction on the close relation of music to text in Schumann's songs, and their especially intimate relation in Wolf's. Yet the texts are not given that would enable one to follow the poetic meaning in the detail of the music, as one is not helped to do by the history, the biography, and the inept and misleading descriptions of text and music ("Ein Jüngling liebt ein Mädchen," for example, is described as a humorous song).

Nor are the texts given of the mildly charming songs of Mendelssohn and the better ones of Franz on an Allegro record (AL 51). Elisabeth Schumann's singing of them is finer-spun than ever, but still exquisite in tone and inflection, with delicate accompaniments by George Schick.

But the texts are given of the Purcell songs on another Allegro record (AL 55)—most of the songs very fine, John Brownlee's singing excellent, the piano accompaniments sometimes inadequate, the recorded sound a little buzzy.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Disservice to the Eskimo?

Dear Sirs: You do a great disservice to the Eskimo in an editorial paragraph of August 12 urging deletion of certain language contained in the Alaska statehood bill as reported to the Senate. As a matter of fact, you impugn the Eskimo's intelligence and patriotism.

You state that a section of the bill "known as the 'anti-reservation clause' . . . would deprive the aboriginal peoples—Aleut, Eskimo, and Indian—of lands and resources that have been theirs since an act of Congress in 1936 fulfilled a promise made in the Alaskan Treaty of Cession in 1867."

The facts, however, are these: The clause in question states that until the bill becomes effective—about two years from now, at most—the Secretary of the Interior may create no reservations in Alaska. So far as Alaska is concerned, the authority to create reservations was extended to the Secretary in 1936. A reservation grants no title whatsoever to natives or groups of natives in the territory. The Supreme Court so ruled in 1949, when it declared that the Secretary of the Interior has no authority to dispose of federal lands to create native reservations in Alaska. The 1936 law simply allows the creation of reservations.

Reservations only serve to set natives apart from other residents. But both groups have a stake in the remarkable social and economic advancement now underway in the territory as a whole. As an Alaskan who believes that the Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts have a moral and perhaps a legal claim, through aboriginal rights, to certain lands in the territory, I know that the fulfilment of such claims does not lie in the reservation system. In addition, the question should be settled by Congress and the courts entirely apart from the statehood issue.

As "our eyes and ears" in Alaska, an assignment you have thrust upon the Eskimo, you apparently expect 15,000 babies, children, men, and women to undertake the primary responsibility for defending Alaska's 26,000 miles of coastline—approximately two miles per Eskimo. You state the "democratic way of life will lose most of its attractions" for those "eyes and ears" if the so-called anti-reservation clause remains in the statehood bill. You should be informed without delay that the Eskimos in April of this year overwhelmingly voted against reservations in Alaska. One might well ask whether the Eskimos did so because they consider reservations "the undemocratic way of life." The answer to that question, by the way, is yes.

MARY LEE COUNCIL

Washington, August 20

[Without debating here the merits of the "anti-reservation clause," we would like to point out that it is not *The Nation* that has "thrust upon the Eskimo" (and other natives) the primary responsibility for guarding the Alaskan coastline—it is the United States army. According to recent dispatches to the New York *Times* from Nome and Anchorage, Colonel Joseph D. Alexander, chief of the Alaskan national guard, has revealed that "the army is depending on the Eskimos and other natives to provide permanent de-

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fense garrisons along thousands of miles of coastline." Colonel Alexander described the new native battalions as the "eyes and ears" of the military along the coast. —EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Liberal Defection?

Dear Sirs: I feel terribly let down at the way so many liberals and liberal magazines have jumped so cheerfully on the Korean war bandwagon. No one ever lifts a voice for the helpless people of Korea, north or south. An American general calls them just another breed of cats and the soldiers, not knowing any better, call them "Gooks." . . . I do not see how anything can explain away the fact that it was the United Nations that supported the action of the United States, and not the other way around. The chronology makes that clear. I also believe that the urgency of the situation did not excuse the ungodly haste of the United Nations and the United States. We surely gained nothing militarily by rushing in before the facts had been investigated and mediation attempted. . . .

Why are the liberals devoting their energies to planning a war instead of to ending it? Who is really gaining from all this mess? Russia, so it seems to me. Russia has made fools of us by dragging us into this affair. As you well know, our hands are far from clean. Syngman Rhee, whose police state and inefficiency made him as hated as the Communists, was *our* idea. Technically, the North Koreans attacked, but from a common-sense point of view, the South Koreans' government was also at fault. . . . CLARA F. WATSON

Northfield, Minnesota, August 15

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Whom Are We Fooling?

Dear Sirs: The American press is outdoing itself to praise an all-Negro unit fighting in Korea. Do we think we are fooling the American Negroes or the colored people of Asia by this? It is a segregated unit, and we are dramatically informing the whole world by our deeds that America has second-class citizens good enough to die for us but not to associate and intermingle with us. Truly, we are losing the moral initiative, we are losing the war in Korea and in Asia, and we are losing our own souls. ALFRED H. WILSON

Roselle, N. J., August 10

An Example to Follow

Dear Sirs: A recent letter in your columns told of Martin Agronsky's program being removed from certain Midwestern radio stations and later reinstated as a result of public protest. Has it been brought to your readers' attention that Mr. Agronsky's program formerly broadcast in this area over WJZ at 8 a.m. has also been eliminated? When I asked ABC why Agronsky had been taken off the weekday schedule, I received an evasive and unsatisfying reply. ANNE MCKINNE STOUT

New York, August 8

CORRECTION

In a letter to the editors from Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., which appeared in *The Nation* of August 5, two lines were inadvertently dropped, changing the sense of the author's remarks. The sentence as printed read: "President Truman, in appointing a Committee on Civil *Rights*, was not succumbing to the historical meaning of the term." It should have read: "President Truman, in appointing a committee on Civil *Rights*, was not succumbing to a sinister modern conspiracy; he was simply recurring to the historical meaning of the term."

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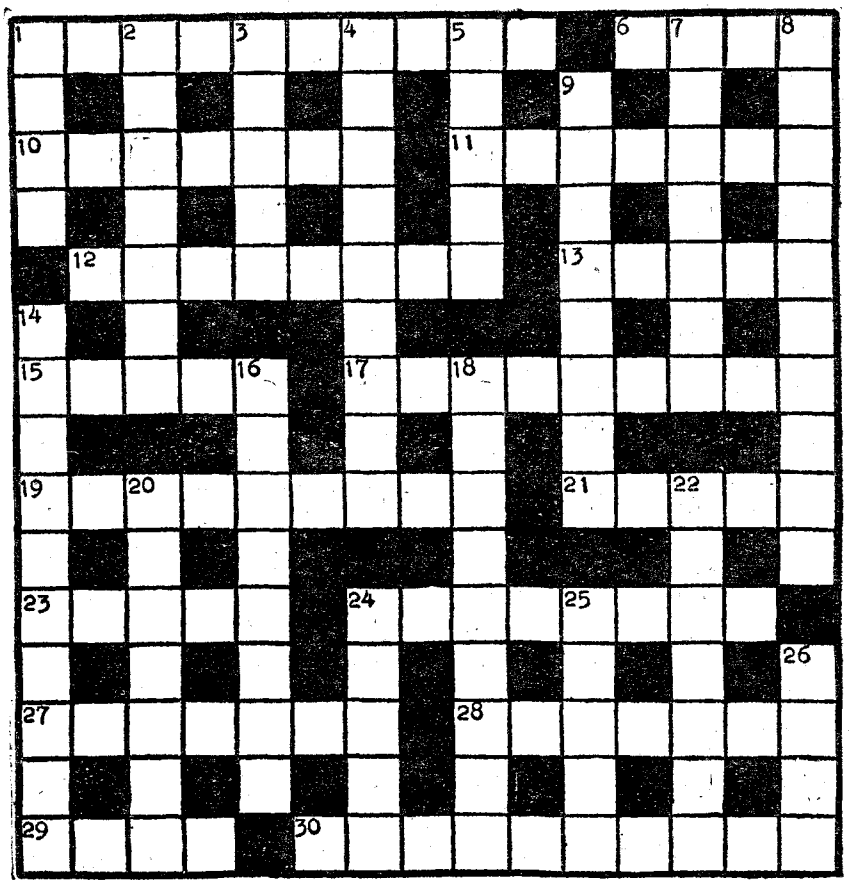
Crossword Puzzle No. 377

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 6. Everybody wants to deal! (3, 5, 2, 4)
10 Those who trespass in the other version?
11 Pa's mixed up with a Hindu prince.
12 In the manner of a famous Dodger?
13 Bar, very loud in Canada.
15 There's a donkey around by a gulf.
17 What one hoped for at the Lake, singularly.
19 What Gulliver did when he met the Houyhnhnms?
21 Error pales by contrast.
23 If you look well in a regular Homburg, you'll find it in shape.
24 Pointed ears and a tail should be for you!
27 Head, ill constructed for a charming personality.
28 Superintendents, but not Super-X.
29 Current screen singer.
30 Shopper lifters.

DOWN

1 A big help to a favorite of operagoers.
2 Leave with the fleet.
3 Reserved for a rising jester.
4 Shows the record doesn't win apparently.
5 Queerly enough, how even numbers are separated.
7 Looks like the urchin has a broken backbone to us!
8 Follower of Huey?
9 One couldn't produce a ring, even for the bride!
14 String ensemble? (4, 6)
16 This bird must have been big for the Old Woman.
18 The country is quite an expense to a Chilean seaport. (5, 4)
20 Coiled.
22 Allspice.
24 Achilles? Not bad!
25 This man was a large trader.
26 The United States Employment Service has more than one purpose.

—□—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 376

ACROSS:—1 HAMMER AND TONGS; 9 GOGGLES; 10 FOR SALE; 12 MANDRILL; 14 SHEARED; 15 GOGOL; 17 ROPES; 19 PARSNIP; 21 VERBIAGE; 23 MAROON; 25 STAND-IN; 26 POMPEII; 27 FEDERAL RESERVE.

DOWN:—1 HIGHCHAIR; 2 MAGNUMS; 3 ENLISTEES; 4 APSE; 5 DEFRAUDERS; 6 OARED; 7 GRATING; 8 FELL; 13 PROPAGANDA; 15 GENDARMES; 16 LEVANTINE; 18 PERVADE; 20 PIONEER; 21 VEST; 22 and 11 IN DUE COURSE; 24 SPAR.

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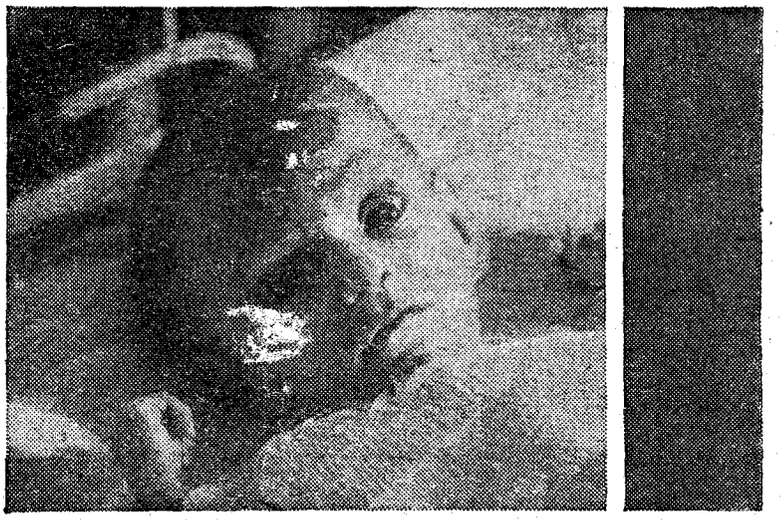

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